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ABSTRACT

This study was a follow-up investigation of five minority first-year teachers who were 1992 graduates of the Peabody Internship/Induction Teaching Program. The study was designed to examine the socialization of new minority group teachers. Structured interview protocols for the teachers and their principals were the primary means of data collection. Unstructured interviews on the telephone and face-to-face conversations also contributed significantly to the case studies. A school demographics form provided additional information on the dynamics involved in each specific teaching context. During their final year in the program, teachers completed biographical sketches that provided background information. Finally teachers' letters, journal entries, anecdotes, and personal reflections provided examples to illuminate themes. Conclusions were drawn from analysis of the six major case study subsections and teachers' stories, and discussion of teachers' socialization process using M. Chefetz's framework. Cultural contexts for the participants included settings from inner city to suburban. Teachers expected to have consistent, inviting, and fair environments in order to actively involve students. Satisfaction came mostly from the intrinsic rewards of teaching. Metaphors supplied by the teachers, such as actress on stage, activist, parent, doctor, motivator, taxi driver, proved to be very useful in explicating the complex and interrelated roles these teacher played. One teacher's first year anecdote is appended. (Contains 29 references.) (JB)

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NEW MINORITY TEACHERS' PERCEPTIONS OF TEACHING

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NEW MINORITY TEACHERS' PERCEPTIONS OF TEACHING

Study Overview

"Everyone should teach for at least a year so that everybody could see what teachers have to go through." This quotation is from Kathy, one of the first-year minority teachers profiled in the pages to follow. Her story (see Elbaz, 1991) and those of her colleagues are intriguing and unique narratives about their triumphs and tribulations during an important year of significant professional and personal growth. These five teachers are unique because they have made conscious decisions to enter the teaching profession during a time when fewer and fewer minorities are choosing careers in teaching (Office of Minorities in Higher Education, 1991).

This statement is significant because minority teachers make up slightly more than 10% of the teachers in public schools. Minority students make up about 30% of the students enrolled in public schools. By the year 2000, researchers predict that ethnic minorities will comprise at least 35% of the students enrolled in public schools. However, the number of minority teachers is expected to decline to less than 7% of the teaching force (Feistritzer, 1990; National Center for Education Statistics, 1992).

This statistic is problematic for a number of reasons but most significantly because of our nation's children. In order for all children to form healthy perceptions of themselves and others, it is crucial that our public schools have qualified

minority teachers on their faculties. So often, teachers are the first and sometimes only positive role models students see, and this is particularly true for minorities. A related issue is the importance of positive interaction between minority teachers and white students. Sonja (one of the teachers in this study who teaches at a large, predominantly white, suburban high school) told me, "Other than their maids, we [she and her black colleagues] are the only black people some of these kids see." Graham (1987) substantiates the importance of this exposure by emphasizing how important it is for white children to interact with black and other minority teachers. Leonard, Kapel, and Williams (1988) further point out that minority teachers promote interracial acceptance and understanding in predominantly white schools.

Statement of the Problem

A Nation at Risk (National Commission on Excellence in Education, 1983) and A Nation Prepared (Carnegie Forum on Education and the Economy, 1986) are two of the most widely heralded reports calling for major changes in the way teachers are prepared and trained. Lortie (1986) states that reforming and restructuring teacher education are necessary to recruit and retain the most able teachers and ensure the quality of teaching. Current reform efforts include better screening of prospective teachers, stiffer standards for teacher education program accreditation, tapping alternative pools of teacher candidates, and internship/induction programs (Logan, 1988). Although some

researchers (e.g., Hawley, 1985) believe that current proposals to upgrade the teaching force hold little prospect for ensuring good teachers for our schools, many schools of education are engrossed in the implementation of these recommendations.

These changes are broadly intended to improve the teaching profession, but more importantly to recognize the importance of the initial teaching experiences as the first year of teaching sets the foundation for the development of a professional educator or a gross "masquerade" of a teacher (Bullough, 1989). The need for reform is evident when one considers that 20% to 25% of all new teachers leave teaching before their third year (Hawley, 1989), and the numbers are even more alarming for minority teachers. A 1988 Metropolitan Life Insurance Company poll found that 41% of African American and Hispanic American teachers reported that they would leave teaching in the next 5 years. Of this group, 55% had been teaching less than 5 years. Reform, which includes changes in the socialization process, is needed to ensure not only that qualified teacher candidates are recruited and trained well, but also that they remain in the profession.

Socialization is defined by Lortie (1975) as a process "that happens to people as they move through a series of structured experiences and internalize the subculture of the group" (p. 61). Chefetz (1976) includes seven elements in the socialization process: (a) learning job expectations, (b) forming peer relationships, (c) selecting role models, (d) fulfilling self-

definition of teachers' roles, (e) establishing student relationships and administrative relationships, (f) learning behavior norms, and (g) under- standing teacher responsibilities as defined by different individuals or groups.

Internship/induction programs are characteristically designed to make the socialization process easier and more beneficial for the new teacher under the guidance of a mentor teacher. The impact that internship/induction programs have on the socialization process of new teachers during their first year and subsequent years is crucial for the refinement, modification, or even elimination of such programs (Logan, 1988). Thus, feedback from new teachers after initial induction experiences and the subsequent year can shed light on the process. This study, therefore, is an attempt to capitalize on case study methodology in illumining at least three crucial issues: characteristics of new minority teachers, alternative program graduates, and socialization in different contexts.

Purpose

This study was a follow-up investigation of five minority first-year teachers who are 1992 graduates of Peabody's Internship/Induction Teaching Program. The purpose of the study was to investigate three questions crucial in our discussion about the socialization of new teachers, specifically new minority teachers. The questions are: (1) How satisfied were the teachers with their career choices? (2) How have their perceptions of teaching changed since their induction year

through their second year of teaching? and (3) What were their future plans? These teachers were defining their roles as teachers for the first time without the constraints of mentor teachers, supervisors, or college faculty. Sharing their stories inform not only preservice teachers and other new teachers but also teacher education programs and the general public. Telling what these teachers received during their induction year, what they wished they had received during that year, and how they have managed the dynamics of teaching this second year are important data in the current debates about restructuring teacher education because the central purpose of teacher education programs is to graduate competent, well-prepared, motivated, and committed teachers.

Data Collection Instruments

The data collection instruments outlined below provided rich qualitative information for the construction of the teachers' stories. Structured interview protocols for the teachers and their principals were the primary means of data collection. Unstructured interviews in the form of telephone and face-to-face conversations also contributed significantly in the development of the case studies.

A school demographics form provided additional information on the dynamics involved in each specific teaching context. This information is necessary because the extent to which teachers can be successful in the classroom is in part dictated by the situations in which they work. A Likert-type questionnaire,

completed in May 1992, provided information to construct interview protocols and to explore themes during field visits.

My notes from classroom observations and my personal reflections after interviews and conversations also were valuable. The biographical sketches that the teachers completed during the culminating seminar before their graduation from Peabody provided crucial background in understanding how these teachers arrived in teaching and where they wanted to go. Finally, the teachers' letters to me, journal entries, anecdotes, and personal reflections provided rich examples to illuminate the themes.

Program Background

The Internship/Induction Program combines a full year of teaching with 30 to 38 hours of graduate-level education and subject area courses. The participants, referred to as interns, begin the program during the summer session by taking up to three courses. They begin their teaching experience with a trained mentor teacher on the first day of school at either the elementary, middle, or secondary school at which they have been assigned and are in the classroom for the entire school year. Concurrently, they take up to three courses during each of the two academic semesters. They end their program with up to three courses during the second summer session. The program is designed to give the interns a realistic induction into the teaching profession by combining theory and practice for a sustained period of time.

Although the IIP is similar to the alternative teacher education programs offered by numerous other universities, the combination of certain features makes this program unique. Key features include the following: (1) a 1-year program resulting in not only certification but also the master of education degree; (2) limited financial assistance for most participants and tuition fellowships and small stipends for qualified minorities; (3) credit as a first-year teacher for tenure and salary purposes; (4) support mechanisms including college supervisors, the coordinator, and the associate director; university/school cooperation and collaboration; and (5) one-to-one pairing with trained mentors.

The mentors. The mentors, who are classroom teachers, serve pivotal roles in the interns' development as teachers. All mentors have a minimum of 10 years of teaching experience and have completed a course in mentoring during the summer before they receive their interns. The purpose of this course is to prepare the mentors for their roles with specific emphasis on strategies to help the interns understand the nuances of teaching including all of the non-teaching responsibilities to which teachers must attend.

The teaching experience. The year is divided into different phases in which the interns gradually assume full teaching responsibility. These phases vary from intern to intern but generally consist of observing, teaching short lessons, teaching one then two then three classes, then finally assuming the full

teaching load or at least four classes. The interns have usually assumed the full load by the second semester. Because the intern has a provisional license, the mentor and intern are able to do very creative activities in their classrooms.

The university courses. The interns take a state of Tennessee approved curriculum that includes 30 to 36 hours of graduate-level courses. The courses differ for elementary and secondary interns with the exception of the seminars in which all interns meet together. The purpose of the seminars is to provide a forum for the interns to grow as professional educators and includes a host of guest speakers and presentations from the interns themselves.

The minority component. Specific to my presentation today is the Minority Component. Part of the purpose of the IIP is to attract talented minorities into teaching. As part of the strategy to accomplish this goal, Peabody offers minority fellowships which includes a 30-hour tuition waiver and a monthly stipend.

The five teachers involved in the present study completed the IIP in the summer of 1992, year three of the Program. They chose the IIP for slightly varying reasons but all considered the combination of teaching experience, university preparation in a 1-year program, and the financial assistance to be a premium.

The Teachers

Each teacher has a bachelor's degree in a field other than education, and three of them worked in other professions before

entering teaching (see tables 1 and 2). Yvette is a 1989 graduate of Hampton University with a degree in marketing. She left a position with a major insurance company in Connecticut to teach first grade in an urban elementary school in Maryland. Kathy is a 1991 graduate of UCLA with a degree in psychology who taught first grade during her induction year and taught fourth grade in suburban Maryland. Carol is an engineer and graduate of the University of Tennessee who teaches junior high mathematics in Nashville. Hector is a former marine biologist and graduate of the University of Washington who taught junior high science in Nashville. Finally, Sonja is a 1991 graduate of Memphis State University with a degree in English who taught junior high language arts during her induction year and currently teaches high school English in Memphis.

Yvette still teaches first grade at the same school. Kathy taught at the suburban Maryland school for two years and now teaches at a suburban elementary school in Rialto, California. Hector taught eighth grade one year at the inner city school in Nashville and has now been in Olympia, Washington for two years. He is currently teaching junior high science. Carol still teaches seventh grade at the magnet school in Nashville. Finally, Sonja still teaches tenth grade English at the same suburban high school.

Summary, Recommendations, and Reflections

These teachers shared with me their personal thoughts about the teaching profession, changes in their perspectives as a

result of their year, and their public and private victories and defeats in their classrooms. I was able to see and hear the changes occurring in their lives as they were learning and growing as teachers--Carol's deciding that she really wants to begin work on her Ph.D. sooner than she first anticipated; Hector's putting family first; Yvette's facing the difficulties inherent in a school in search of a new vision; Sonja's realizing that she represents the best hope for some of her kids to tolerate, accept, and celebrate diversity; and Kathy's defining herself in her first professional role.

What follows is a summary and analysis of the six major case study subsections and the stories, a discussion of the teachers' socialization processes using Chefetz's (1976) framework, and a discussion of the implications of the study and future research directions. The paper ends with some personal reflections.

Subsection Analyses

Cultures. The contexts in which these teachers functioned exist along a continuum from inner city to suburban settings, each with a unique set of circumstances. The inner city school at which Hector worked is not the typical large, inner city school with the drug, gang, and discipline problems that plague most such schools. However, it is a school populated with poor, underachieving, mostly minority students whose lifestyles put them at risk for academic failure and health problems. It has many of the same features as Yvette's urban elementary school.

Students at both schools seemed to be unable to differentiate between behavior acceptable outside of school and the behavior expected in school. The theme present in both Hector's and Yvette's conversations was their students' basic lack of respect for themselves and others, which in part contributed to their general school behavior problems. Yvette commented, for example, that she could only imagine what her students' home situations were as she outlined some of the reasons they gave for being late or missing school completely. Excuses like "I overslept" or "My mother did not get me up in time" or "I had to get a hair cut" signaled to Yvette that school was not as important as it should have been to the parents of some of her students. Also, when Hector caught three of his male students skipping school to "hang out" under a bridge near school, they were afraid of the punishment they would get at school, not at home. Further, Hector witnessed on more than one occasion parents being "chewed out" by their children when the parents had to come to school for behavior problems. These examples illustrate the real problems that exist when there is a gap between school and home priorities and expectations. As a result, the classroom cultures that both Hector and Yvette created stressed responsibility, self-control, and respect. These themes came thrcugh in how they described what they did in their classrooms.

Sonja's, Carol's, and Kathy's schools serve similar kinds of students in contrast to Yvette's and Hector's schools. However,

the students' ages and levels of sophistication are dissimilar. Sonja's students, for example, were more cosmopolitan whereas Carol's students were finding their way at the important young adolescent stage of their lives, and Kathy's students were still very needy preadolescents. Thus, the students' social skills were quite different and impacted how these teachers organized their own classroom cultures. Sonja felt the need to create a strict and structured environment in the midst of a large school with a culture that tolerated much free expression and subculture identification. Kathy endeavored to create a very supportive classroom environment because her students were still very young and needed guidance. Carol emphasized a relaxed, open, and academically rigorous classroom where the importance of independent thinking was emphasized as evidenced in her philosophy.

Philosophies. Concisely stated, these teachers thought that they should have consistent, inviting, and fair environments in order to get students actively involved in the kind of inquiry necessary for them to acquire the social skills and intellectual knowledge they need to survive in our changing society. Their philosophies were not simply abstract statements about what should be but rather statements that actually guided what they did in their classrooms. Yvette, for example, stated that teachers must believe in their students' abilities to succeed because so many times teachers are the only adults who make positive differences in the lives of their students. Therefore

she, like her colleagues, tried to make sure her classroom was fine all of the time. Also, Kathy expressed her desire to get students involved in what goes on in the classroom. It was important to her that her children's curiosity guide learning activities because everything that happens there ultimately affects them. The same kind of commitment to involving students in their own learning was a theme in Hector's, Carol's, and Sonja's philosophies. Through doing hands-on science projects to creating original tangrams to presenting oral interpretations of plays, the teachers' commitment to active student participation was apparent.

Satisfaction. As I suspected at the outset of this study, satisfaction for these teachers did come mostly from the intrinsic rewards of teaching and more specifically from seeing their students become (a) better thinkers, (b) more independent, and (c) more conscious about their futures. For example, Sonja challenged her students to think differently about diversity in America through their reading of nontraditional literature. Also, Carol was overjoyed to see her students integrate their mathematical, English, and computer skills to independently create original hypercard presentations. Another example of this kind of satisfaction was Hector's sense of accomplishment when he described those students who finally began to think seriously about their futures in realistic terms after being captivated by the visitors from Vanderbilt and Meharry medical schools.

Satisfaction from extrinsic rewards was a different story. The teachers described very few monetary or other tangible rewards they received. They were not displeased with their salaries because they knew going in that salary was not the reason qualified people want to teach. The rewards they did mention include recognition by principals and peers for good work, mini grants from the school district, or a thank you from parents, peers, or principals. Even with the dissatisfactions, the intrinsic rewards they received from teaching made their second year in the classroom satisfying.

Metaphors and Roles. Metaphors proved to be very useful in explicating the complex and interrelated roles these teachers played daily in their classrooms. Kathy's metaphor was the strongest among the five teachers in depicting her daily performance in the classroom. She described herself as an actress on stage when she was with her students in her classroom. She meant that she had to fulfill her role as teacher no matter what may have happened in her personal life; her students always expected her to be the caring teacher on whom they depended. Kathy's metaphor is indicative of how many teachers feel when they do not necessarily feel like teaching or would rather be somewhere else. That is, good teachers always make school interesting, educational, and inviting for their students. They must continuously pull themselves together for one more performance.

Other metaphors also illustrate important roles that the teachers played. Sonja, for example, described herself as an activist. She used this metaphor to illuminate her commitment to providing literature from a multicultural perspective when other teachers in the English department were less than committed to teaching a rich, diverse curriculum. Sonja commented that a commitment to multicultural education is a component of her school district's mission statement, but it seemed to have been lost in the rhetoric among too many of her colleagues. Therefore, as an activist agitates the system for change, so did Sonja stress to her colleagues and department chair the importance of teaching from a multicultural perspective where diversity is respected and celebrated.

Yvette, Hector, and Carol used metaphors that are often attached to teachers including parent, doctor, nurse, and motivator. Hector also used taxi driver because he often shuttled students from home to school to school events and back. Also, to describe her growth as a teacher, Yvette used the phrase "a dandelion seed spreading in the wind." This was a very vivid image for explicating the process by which Yvette was learning, growing, and enlarging her teaching repertoire. Hector used the term an "inservice hog" to describe how he prepared for the year. He wanted to build his repertoire of hands-on science projects and used the summer months to attend workshops, read, and practice experiments. Therefore, the "hog" metaphor captures his desire to garner up as much as he could. Finally, all of the

teachers took their roles as young minority teachers very seriously. They fully understood the importance of being good teachers and role models for both their minority and non-minority students.

Experiences and Perceptions. You can try to anticipate what your first year will be like, but you can never truly predict the experiences you will have as a first-year teacher. This was the theme for the teachers as they described all of their experiences and their reactions to those experiences. Even these teachers who had been in classrooms for a full year and were quite comfortable with their classroom performances had experiences that they did not expect to have. Yvette probably had the most stressful year as she quite frankly said that she contemplated leaving midyear of the term. She described the "mess" going on at her school among various faculty members, the principal, parents, and students as the worst situation she had ever seen. However, her determination and convictions about what had to be done kept her going. Other descriptions for the year included busy, exhausting, and challenging work. Hector, for example, admitted that he--like most new teachers--still spent much of the year surviving from day to day. However, it seemed that Hector did exist at a higher level than some new teachers in that his agenda seemed to be more on academics and less on classroom control. That is, he was not preoccupied with keeping the kids quiet and orderly as the mark of a good teacher. Rather, he focused more on helping students build high-level cognitive

skills by exposing them to activities that required them to solve problems such as the individual soil erosion projects they completed. They had to synthesize and analyze research in order to construct and maintain their projects themselves.

The need for organization and order in their professional and personal lives were also themes in discussions about their experiences. Although they knew that organization was very important in teaching, they all realized that they still needed to organize more. Unlike their internship year, they were now solely responsible for grading all of the homework and test papers, making comments on all of the reports cards, or maintaining all of their attendance reports. With the exception of Hector, they were perhaps more similar to first-year teachers with less experience in that they were not fully exposed to the rigors of complete responsibility during their internship year. However, as Sonja put it, "I probably came to the realization that I needed to be more organized during the first week of school but did not have time to do what had to be done." Thus, during Christmas, for example, she put together a syllabus for the second semester and organized a test file. Finally, they all began focusing more on long term planning, on managing their time better, and on reflecting on their missions as teachers.

Future Plans. Yvette, Kathy, Sonja, and Carol have been teaching in the same school since their Induction year. Hector did not teach the year after he left his position in Nashville but now teaches in Washington. I am confident that they will

remain in teaching for at least 5 more years even though returning to school at least part time and maybe full time is especially important to Carol and Sonja. Hector, Yvette, and Kathy have no short-term plans to return to school.

These teachers are convinced that the profession must change in order to attract more young minorities into the field. In their judgment, the pay is still not adequate compensation for the working conditions, time, and responsibilities assigned to teachers. Their feelings on this subject can best be summed by Kathy's statement, "I enjoyed teaching and being around my students, but I don't know how long I can continue to do this."

What is clear from these teachers is that the disparity between the amount of work performed by good teachers and the pay they receive must change. To say that teachers are adequately compensated for the amount of time they work is an asinine myth which does not take into account the late nights spent grading research papers, book reports, essays, projects, and homework; the time spent organizing field trips and locating sponsors and volunteers for the field trips to occur; the personal money spent every day ensuring that kids have rich learning environments; and the physical and emotional toll that teaching takes on the body. The list could literally go on, but the point is well illustrated. If there is any hope that the dismal trends will stop--25% of new teachers leaving the profession before their third year (Hawley, 1989) and minorities constituting less than 10% of the teaching force--teachers must be better compensated for the

work they do. Teaching must be regarded as more than "the noble profession."

Stories. Reading the stories written by each teacher was one of the very best parts of this study for me because the stories so clearly reflect all that was important for these teachers during this year. At once, the stories summarize the teachers' philosophies, values, and beliefs. The stories provide snapshots into the classrooms and lives of these five teachers. It is not surprising that all of the stories are about interactions with students because good teachers are in the profession because they enjoy interacting with, guiding, and nurturing young people. The teachers' commitments to helping students succeed, the satisfaction they get from their students' successes, and the frustrations they feel when students fall short all come shining through in their stories.

Sonja's saga of her year-long struggle with Joe is appended here as a representative sample. Her story gives readers an insight into the life of a troubled teen who sought to maintain some modicum of control over his life through his behavior in school. Sonja had no previous experience with dealing with such an angry young man; however, she maintained her composure, sought advice from teachers who had taught Joe, and used her own intuition, memory, and desire to help this young man through this difficult time. She could have handled him differently, but she wanted to prove to herself that she could help him and maintain her pleasant and structured classroom.

The Socialization Process

The formal and informal experiences that defined these teachers' socialization processes are analyzed below using Chefetz's (1976) framework. This framework allows for a systematic look at key factors involved in the dynamics of how new teachers' defining themselves in the classroom.

Learning Job Expectations and Behavior Norms

First, beyond the stated job descriptions each teacher received, they internalized their job expectations and behavior norms from a variety of sources. For example, Sonja and Carol learned from their principals and colleagues that teachers were expected to "work" with their more outspoken parents. Most times, these outspoken parents were also very involved in school activities. Further, conflicts between students' participation in extracurricular activities and their classwork occurred sometimes, and parents expected, for example, for teachers to grant extra time for homework. Sonja and Carol voiced their concerns about this. Also, Sonja felt that sometimes her principal was more concerned about parents' and community perceptions of Hillcrest than what was in the best interest on his teachers. Hector had already learned that structure and discipline were important to his administration. He recognized that his style was sometimes in conflict with the kind of strict control that some teachers thought they needed to maintain control in their classrooms. Perhaps the most important job expectation Yvette learned was that her principal expected her teachers to take more

responsibility for discipline in their own classrooms. Some teachers felt that the principal was not firmly supporting them in disciplining the children, which they felt led to more problems. As a consequence of this and other conflicts between the principal and some experienced teachers, Yvette also learned not to discuss school matters with the disgruntled teachers. Finally, Kathy learned that the principal and some other teachers held high expectations for her. She stated that some teachers knew she had a year's teaching experience and asked her questions about the IIP and her teaching experience. Kathy was afraid that they would be disappointed if she made "first-year teacher" mistakes, which caused her some undo stress. She explained that she really struggled in the beginning to live up to what she thought their expectations were but later discovered that she did not have to have this protective wall. She became comfortable learning and borrowing from other teachers.

Finding Role Models and Forming Peer Relationships

Selecting role models was more difficult for Yvette than the others as she found looked to teachers outside her own school building (with encouragement from her principal) from which to learn. Kathy was able to find at least two fellow teachers from whom she solicited advice and discussed issues. Sonja found a empathetic ear in one of her vice-principals but did not consider any of her fellow teachers sufficient role models even though she was assigned an official mentor who was supposed to be a model teacher. Sonja felt that this vice-principal was always fair,

consistent, and professional. Hector found himself doing things quite differently from most of his colleagues; thus he had no strong role models among his colleagues. Finally, Carol felt comfortable conducting some classroom activities because, for example, the senior teacher on her team had had success with it. From our conversations, however, Carol did not identify any strong role models.

The teachers generally formed collegial relationships with their peers. They talked with colleagues during breaks and felt competent in sharing their opinions with the other teachers. However, Yvette was more reserved in relating with her peers because of the tensions among some of her faculty, but there were two other young teachers whom she considered trustworthy. They sometimes socialized after school hours. Carol remained close to her mentor from the internship. Like Kathy, her team met regularly to plan and discuss issues such as students' progress. These relationships did not extend outside of school, however. Kathy's team also did much theme planning and collaboration. Sonja's and Hector's relationships with peers focused primarily on school-related issues also. The teachers in Sonja's department discussed curriculum decisions but Sonja, at least, exercised autonomy in choosing the literature she felt best for her students. Hector was part of a team and as the team concept dictates, he and his colleagues met regularly. He found support from his peers for implementing the social studies curriculum as

he was uncomfortable teaching this subject. However science was his forte, and he usually shaped the curriculum his way.

Establishing Student and Administrative Relationships

Establishing relationships with their students was very important to these teachers. They were struggling with defining and maintaining that balance between liked and trusted by their students and being respected by their students as knowledgeable and intelligent, professional, firm classroom managers, strict disciplinarians, and subject area specialists. There was never a desire on the part of any of the teachers to be pals with their students; yet because they are caring and compassionate adults teaching kids who often had very difficult problems outside of school, they did (as all caring teachers do) take on the responsibilities of counselor, psychologist, and mentor. They read files, talked to other teachers, consulted parents, and listened to their students. They saw themselves as unique role models--young, intelligent, minority, and for four of them, female. With that came all of the stereotypes to dispel--that intelligent people do choose teaching and that being a minority in America does not necessarily mean a life of poverty and crime. Thus, whether it was Sonja explaining that most people of African descent prefer African American to black or Hector inviting role models into his classroom, these teachers are positive influences in their students' lives and take the job very seriously.

In addition to the impact their mere presence had, these

teachers learned how to best accommodate their students' needs and how to reach them. They learned how to diffuse situations--Carol learned that African American males responded to her much better when they were not backed into a corner. They learned how to encourage and motivate different students--Kathy's student learned how to manipulate a small pack of juice after Kathy slowly and patiently practiced with her and guided her on several occasions. They learned when to involve parents or when to involve the administration--Yvette decided that she did need help from her principal with discipline that her principal was not disappointed with methods. In sum, they slowly internalized how to relate to their students in a nonthreatening, caring, and professional manner.

All of the teachers established collegial relationships with their administrators although they existed on different levels. As was the nature of their relationships with peers, all of the teachers were comfortable expressing opinions to their administrators. Yvette's relationship with her principal became a mentor/protegee relationship because Mrs. Easterly saw potential in Yvette and wanted to make sure she did not become disillusioned about teaching. Sonja's relationship with her principal was probably the most distant because she had little direct contact with him and more contact with the various assistant principals. Again, she felt most comfortable with Margaret, the assistant principal for curriculum. Kathy's, Carol's, and Hector's relationships with their administrators

were fairly routine and normal.

Fulfilling Self-Definition of Teachers' Roles

As fully outlined in the Metaphor and Role Analysis section, the teachers felt confident that they were fulfilling their self-defined roles as teachers. They all made conscious decisions to become teachers and are very serious about what they do. Further, they had preconceived ideas about how they wanted to perform their jobs. Although they perhaps modified their plans because of factors such as school culture, they clung to their convictions. Finally, because teaching is so important and because they were good teachers, they worked hard to improve how they taught and what they taught.

Recommendations

Implications

One major objective of this study was to learn from these teachers ways to raise the numbers of qualified minorities in the teaching profession. Further, because it has been well documented (e.g., Gifford, 1985, Leonard et al., 1988) that in order for the teaching force to be reflective of the diverse school-age population in schools now and into the year 2000, more minorities must be recruited into teacher education programs and retained in the teaching profession. Therefore, the most important question left to answer at the end of this study was, "What must be done to make sure these five and other intelligent young minority teachers enter and stay in teaching?" This study

yielded three major implications for answering this question and improving alternative teacher education programs such as Peabody's IIP.

Alternative pools. Attracting alternative pools of potential teacher candidates into teacher preparation programs is crucial in improving the numbers of minority teachers. As was explained in the literature (e.g., Holt, 1989; Jacullo-Noto, 1991), the trend away from teacher education among undergraduates is a result of the perception that teaching is a low-status profession with no economic advantages. The idea that satisfaction comes from status and salary drives many talented minorities into other professions including engineering, business, medicine, or law. In fact, 3 of these teachers had long wanted to be teachers but chose to pursue other professions because of those very reasons. However, individuals who have graduated and worked in other professions understand what those jobs entail and that job satisfaction may be more complex and dependent on other factors such as working conditions, respect, recognition for good work, and a sense of accomplishment that comes from helping others and contributing to the betterment of society. Carol explained it best when she stated that in her previous position, she fixed computer circuits, that is all. There was no intrinsic satisfaction in that and she began to want more. In teaching, however, she felt that she is doing something special when her kids get excited about learning. She knows that she is a major catalyst in spurring their interests and desires

to learn. Yvette also explained that she was not doing anything special by working with the insurance company. She said that anyone could do that, but just anyone could not teach.

Therefore, capitalizing on the growing number of people who are switching professions two, three, and even four times because they want to be of service and because of the changing economy is important for attracting qualified minorities into teaching. Not only do these individuals bring deeper understandings of what students need to know as a result of their own work experiences, but they also bring with them a larger repertoire of life experiences and skills learned in the field and not just from academic preparation. These individuals are generally slightly older and more mature than the traditional first-year teacher, which can combine with those other characteristics in making them more realistic about and focused on teaching.

Financial assistance. Another important implication for recruiting is providing financial assistance. All of these teachers stated that the stipend and scholarship were necessary for them to return to school because they could not have otherwise afforded it. Research such as that done by Bell and Cross (1992) and Wilson (1988) also indicates that financial assistance for minorities considering teaching is a good incentive. Most people returning to graduate school must rely on financial assistance of some kind, and providing this incentive for entering the teaching profession sends the message that schools of education are serious about recruitment.

Mentoring. Finally, mentoring is crucial in recruiting and retaining minority teachers. Mentoring at the preservice level was important to these teachers because it provided them with guidance, instruction, and support during a process where they had little or no experience. The leadership they received from their mentors was very crucial as they learned how to teach in real contexts in tangent with the theory they received from coursework. As a result of the year-long guided practice the teachers received under their mentors during the IIP, they ended the year competent and self-confident in their teaching abilities. They had been able to gradually build up their pedagogical knowledge base then practice, receive feedback, reflect, and modify their teaching styles as the year progressed. Further, the teachers and their mentors were able to use different techniques such as team teaching and cooperative learning. All of the teachers commented in some way on the importance of mentoring, but Carol's experiences best reflect the importance of the mentoring process. Learning classroom management techniques was most difficult for her during the internship. She reported that her mentor's patience, guidance, and experience helped her learn how to manage a classroom. The trial-and-error process she went through during the second semester when she had her own classroom at Butler changed her from a "yelling and screaming" intern to a firm but pleasant second-year teacher. Articulating clear expectations to students, giving and demanding respect, and listening were three skills Carol learned

from her mentor and her internship experience that she continued into her second year.

The importance of mentoring during the first few years of teaching has been recognized by practitioners and researchers. In fact, many schools and school districts have formal systems where their new teachers are paired with experienced teachers in order that the new teachers might learn routines, norms, and behaviors in a supportive atmosphere. When such relationships exist, research shows that new teachers feel less anxious and more confident (Gray & Gray, 1985). Mentoring is important because many new teachers are intimidated and feel isolated and incompetent because they are in a new environment. This intimidation is theoretically lessened when the new teachers know they have at least one colleague who will answer questions and offer suggestions in a nonjudgmental manner (Gray & Gray, 1985).

Improving the IIP. The final discussion of implications focuses specifically on Peabody's IIP. Based on personal involvement with the program and, most importantly, as a result of this present study, five challenges as the IIP continues to evolve are presented. These items are necessarily broad and do not point to specific programmatic features such as the course of studies or configuration of the teaching responsibilities. The challenges are as follows: (a) more schools should be included so that the quality of the induction experiences might be improved; (b) more minority mentors need to be used so that the mentor staff reflect more racial diversity; (c) more minority

interns need to be recruited because increasing the number of minority teachers is an original objective of the program; (d) information about the program needs to be more widely distributed so that more potential minority candidates might be identified; and (e) more systematic follow-up on the program graduates needs to occur so that data to support or not support this method of teacher preparation can be gathered.

Future Directions

As a result of what was learned in the present study, three important directions for future research are outlined here. First, a similar investigation of all of the minority graduates of Peabody's IIP would yield valuable data on the outcomes of the minority component of the IIP. This information would support this method of recruiting and retaining more minorities in teaching. Second, a similar investigation of all of the graduates of Peabody's IIP would add to the body of research on alternative preparation programs. Finally, because there is relatively little longitudinal data comparing alternative and traditional program graduates (Boser, 1990), the case study approach would produce interesting portraits for comparison.

Reflections

Research on beginning teachers is replete with findings that first-year teachers enter their respective schools with high ideals and unrealistic beliefs and goals--that they can quickly make a difference and, of course, change the world. These archetypical new teachers have left the ivory towers of their

respective institutions armed with an arsenal of liberal teaching methods that should inspire even the most difficult-to-teach student. By June, they feel more incompetent, less happy, and less inspired than just 9 months before (Gaede, 1978). They have underestimated the difficulties involved in motivating students, overestimated their own skills as effective classroom managers, and/or have failed to anticipate the amount of time and energy necessary to keep up with the daily routine. Thus, by June, they have decided to become more traditional in their teaching to manage some of the regularities, or they have abandoned the profession completely.

Discussing the discontinuity created by theory-based training and the reality of teaching (Lacey, 1977) is one way to look at the lives of first-year teachers. However, perhaps because these teachers' naive idealism and expectations had been tempered through their year-long internship or because they are slightly older and more experienced than the traditional first-year teacher, there were no romantic fantasies about teaching. Congruent with findings from Tabachnick and Zeichner (1985), these teachers did not abandon their conceptions and neither did they succumb to some institutional culture opposite to how they defined their teaching roles. Yvette, for example, did not stop trying to teach her students self-control and self-direction when a more direct authoritarian style fitted the culture at her school. Carol continued to refine her projects approach to teaching mathematics. Sonja continued to promote multicultural

awareness through nontraditional literature. Hector continued to expose his students to important missing components in their lives--positive minority role models.

Further, like other new teachers profiled in studies including Bullough et al. (1992) and Weinstein (1988), these teachers clung to the familiar as they entered their second year; they were unsure about the responsibilities of beginning anew but were firmly grounded in their convictions about their roles, how they wanted to structure their classes, and what they wanted to get across to their students. They did, however, realize at various points during the year that modifications would be necessary based on the unique teaching situations inherent in their new teaching sites; but they had anticipated such modifications would be necessary. Even Hector who had spent a semester as a long-term substitute at his present school found that more changes were necessary in his discipline plan, for example, in order to create more structure necessary for his students to "experience science."

One of the hardest parts of being a teacher--no matter how much experience one may have--is continuously planning, creating, organizing, and executing learning activities while at the same time managing the paperwork, parents, and miscellaneous duties involved in teaching. As we were travelling to Carol's wedding in late June, Kathy (who had only a week earlier finished her school year) said to me, "Joyce, I could never have imagined that this year would have been so much work." These teachers

regularly began their day at least an hour before school started, routinely stayed hours after school ended, and often found themselves burdened with papers to grade on weekends--the normal life of new most teachers. Learning how to (a) complete work within a specified time frame, (b) pace a lesson, (c) grade papers efficiently, (d) maintain a pleasant classroom culture, (e) solicit positive parent involvement, and (f) make sound pedagogical decisions all became top priorities for these teachers. Yvette's and Kathy's using peer editing in the elementary grades, Carol's working with the computer science teacher on interdisciplinary projects, Sonja's checking homework with a quiz instead of having to grade pages and pages of homework, and Hector's computer grading program all were huge steps in their processes of finding congruence between school work and school time. These steps as well as long-term planning, organizing resources, and simply practicing have helped them better manage the pressures and responsibilities that come with teaching.

Additionally, among the priorities in ensuring the mental and physical health of young teachers, finding and participating in non-school related activities are certainly at the top. I learned personally and from this project that young teachers can easily allow school and school related events and people to dominate their existence. As these teachers learned pedagogy so did they learn personal wellness skills. The church choir, regular exercise routines, family, service and/or social organizations, and hobbies were all outlets with which these

teachers got involved and by which they became happier and more relaxed teachers.

Finally, I recognized that I missed the classroom. Seeing 10th graders hanging on Sonja's every word made me reminisce about Brenda, Cassondra, and Nikki--my own 10th graders of 4 years ago. Seeing the light bulbs go off when one of Kathy's students finally "got it" made me remember what teaching is all about--challenging students to think and moving them beyond any limitations--self-imposed or otherwise. So, I envy these five teachers. They are doing well and, at least for a while longer, will touch the lives of the young people enrolled in their classes.

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Table One

Teacher Profiles

Teacher	Undergraduate institution	Previous job	Philosophy
Yvette	Hampton Univ.	Insurance agent	All children can achieve. Teachers must teach them how to respect them- and others.
Kathy	UCLA	Undergrad- uate	Children need a happy and safe place to learn.
Hector	Univ. of Washington	Marine biologist	I want my kids to develop their thought processes, their power of in- vestigating things.
Carol	Univ. of Tennessee	Engineer	There must be a combination of being liked and being re- spected.
Sonja	Memphis State Univ.	Undergrad- uate	Kids deserve re- spect. I try to be consistent and give them that.

Table Two

School Profiles

Teacher	Grade taught	School type	School population	
			Number	Racial composition
Yvette	First	Urban	436	82% African American 12% White 3% Hispanic 3% Asian
Kathy	Third	Suburban	687	65% White 23% African American 7% Hispanic 5% Asian
Hector	Eighth	Inner city	380	54% African American 46% White
Carol	Seventh	Magnet	550	60% White 37% African American 3% Asian
Sonja	Tenth	Suburban	2,000	93% White 5% African American 2% Asian

Appendix

Sonja's Saga: "Hanging Out" at The Mall

"Hanging Out" at The Mall

"Out!" I forcefully instructed the young man.

"What a great start," I thought to myself. I had ordered a student from my classroom on the first day of school.

The first day had gone well until that point. I was nervous but determined make a positive start. During my internship as a graduate student, I decided I wanted to work in an inner city school where I would be needed. I dreamed of reaching out to street-wise youths. I dreamed of being someone they could trust. However, my dream seemed to have faded away.

At the beginning of the school year, I found myself working in one of the most reputable counties in the state. I was offered a position in what was said to be the nicest school in the district. I accepted. Hillcrest High School is beautiful, but nothing close to the one in my dreams. This school is located in a very wealthy homogeneous community. Most of the students are well fed and well dressed, and the building itself is idealistically architected with large bay windows and wide stairwells. This is how the school received its nickname from those outside the area--I began my first year of teaching at "The Mall." I felt some guilt in accepting an assignment in a school located so far from the inner city, but the contract was signed. I came to the teaching profession to work with those who wanted to escape poverty; instead, I found myself in suburbia. I felt like a traitor. I feared not being wanted or needed, and my fears were seemingly becoming reality.

Until the last class of the day, everything had gone well that first day. Despite my apprehensions, I tried to be positive. As the day wore on, I felt more and more relaxed because each class seemed attentive and responsive. Though I had anticipated some challenges because of my age and my petite stature, I found that my sophomores respected my authority. But, as fate would have it, there was one exception.

The final hour came, and I breathed a sigh of relief. I was thinking of how well the day had gone as my last class filed in. They seemed to be a little more anxious than the earlier groups, but this was to be expected since this was the last class of the day. Then, about 5 minutes into the period, Joe glided through the doorway. Giving no excuse for his tardiness, he promptly informed me that he was an eleventh grader. He had taken sophomore English in summer

school, and his schedule would be corrected the following day. I allowed him to take a seat in an effort to keep class flowing smoothly. Joe had other ideas.

He sat near his friends and began a conversation that lasted several minutes. My requests for their attention were short-lived, and Joe seemed to be annoyed that I was disturbing his discussion. He ignored my glares of disapproval and became louder and more disruptive. It was obvious that he feared no consequences for his behavior; after all, he was "an eleventh grader." I grew more and more upset, fearing I might lose control of the entire class. No longer able to tolerate Joe's disrespect, I firmly asked him to leave. "What?" he responded. "Out," I repeated. I then told him that he made it obvious that he was not a member of my class and asked him to wait in the guidance office until they found a place for him. Joe left, and I regained control. The day came to an end, and the feelings I enjoyed just an hour earlier had disappeared. I was upset with myself because I had almost lost control on the very first day. I chastised myself and promised myself that I would do better on the next day. I was at least grateful that my school year would be "Joeless."

The second day came, and my students were receptive once again. I counted the hours and wondered how my final class would receive me. They entered the class and to my surprise, Joe was among them. He had not passed summer school and was mine for the year. He made it apparent that he was as happy to be there as I was to see him. While his behavior was not as disturbing as the day before, it was far below my expectations of appropriate classroom conduct. Following the bell, I rushed to the telephone and called his mother and explained the situation. She said she would talk with her son. Over time, Joe gradually improved; however, the tension between us remained, and I was uncomfortable in addressing him. He had a chip on his shoulder, and I did not want to knock it off, for he had the potential to become explosive.

As the weeks went by, I began to gain an understanding of Joe. I learned that many of his teachers saw him as a troublemaker, and he deserved the reputation. I was also told by the administration that he was "the kind of kid that didn't deserve a break." He was not unfamiliar with the criminal justice system and had been suspended from school countless times. It was also common knowledge that Joe, who was barely 17, used illicit substances on a regular basis.

As tough as he was, Joe would sometimes come to class bruised or wearing a black eye. He had an older brother who had a reputation for being quite brutal, and the two fought

often. Joe usually lost. I slowly saw that his world was not glamorous. I could relate to the control (of which his world was so void) that he so desperately needed. As my understanding grew, so did my desire to become his ally. I had several conferences with him, and he realized we had common goals. For the third time, Joe was failing English. He had the potential but rebelled at anyone or anything that tried to control him. I tried to help him see that passing my class would give him more control over his future.

Together we developed exercises to help him manage his temper when he became frustrated. His outbursts diminished, and his interaction with others improved. Eventually, Joe took on positive leadership roles in the classroom, and his grades improved. He became intensely concerned with his performance and worked to excel.

Towards the end of the year, Joe handed me a prom picture so that I would not forget him--as if I could. Though we began as threats to one another, we became friends. He respected my authority, and I respected his needs. I realized that he did not really want to control my class--he wanted some control in his life. Joe is one step closer to just that. Not only did he pass sophomore English after three attempts, he honed some skills that will help him throughout life.

Joe was not the only one that learned a worthwhile lesson in class this year. His teacher learned that teachers can be instrumental wherever students abound. Though in my heart and mind, I still believe there is a dire need for teachers willing to work in the "trenches" of the inner city, I no longer feel the need to apologize for my roles as teacher and learner at The Mall.